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595 the son. A dué likes many wives because he tires of cohabiting with
554 one and because such multiplicity creates more sons and daughters, so that he will have more waku, dué, and galle, with stronger bonds between him and them.

513 When in camp a woman sleeps with her back to her husband. If
833 intercourse takes place it is in this position so that no one can be aware of what they are doing.

A dué and galle never copulate during a woman's pregnancy, lest
843 the child be born dead or die early in infancy, the mother's milk being
834 soured by her husband's semen. If a child is born dead the parents are blamed. If a baby dies, the brother and father of the mother criticize
620 their actions throughout the camp in loud voices for her and other members of the tribe to hear. Since sexual intercourse has usually occurred between dué and galle after what they feel should have been the regulated time, they say nothing and do not resent the criticism.

After a child is born the woman and man wait several days before
846 resuming sexual relations. The wife goes through a short ceremony that is both therapeutic and ritualistic. She enters the bush with a female relative such as momo, mari, or mokul bapa, and places some stones on a fire. When these are hot she squats over the fire and the other woman throws water over the stones. The steam is supposed to heal, cleanse and close her uterus and make it small again.

846 A woman during this period sleeps facing her husband, who does
833 not try to touch her but waits until she turns from him and starts making casual conversation. He realizes then that she wants him. After his first intercourse with his wife following the birth of a child, the husband always rises early and bathes himself. If he did not, he would look like an animal to the other men and feel ashamed before them.[11]

593 A woman gathers the small game, nuts, bulbs, yams, and other
222 vegetable food, as well as all shell food for the family. A man always
462 has first right to the food brought by her. She and her daughters have eaten all they wish while gathering it. A wife usually cooks the food
262 she has brought for her husband. A large part of a family's larder is contributed by the wife. Big game is supplied by the men, who also bring in fish and large sea animals such as turtle, porpoise, dugong and shark.

[11] There is considerable evidence that there is a comparatively strong taboo on sexual relations between man and wife after the man has seen a totem the first time. It is said that the ceremonial leader for the totem would be so angry that he would attempt to spear the culprit.

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make quite a point of carrying their personal baskets under their arms in the manner of mature men. 857

When large animals such as kangaroos, sea turtles, or emus are harpooned or speared and are being prepared for the stone fires by the older men, the little boys stand about and watch, edging as close as they can and being constantly warned to get back. Meanwhile they quarrel among themselves over the tidbits given them, e.g., the shells of the turtles from which they pick bits of meat.

A boy remains with his family of orientation until he is six or eight years of age, when he is circumcised, leaves his family, and goes to live with the boys of his own age and those who are older in a male group presided over by an older man (or men) who does not possess a wife. This does not mean that he is not in constant contact with the members of his own family. It is felt to be wrong, however, for the young man to live in his parents' camp after he reaches this age because he will be aware of their sexual relations and will learn ways of behavior not proper for a boy who has not taken a wife. Sexual relations between married people are carried on in the bush in the daytime and in camp at night. In camp they lie in such a position that they will not be noticed by their camp mates. "It is all right for children to watch, for they don't know what's happening, but when a boy gets older he sees, and then he says, 'That's good for me, too.' He goes and gets a young girl, maybe a galle to him, and they go into the bush." "When he stays in the big camp he sees too many women. If sometimes you see a small boy from the men's camp sit down in the camp with the women, he hasn't learned which way to behave proper." 591 834 [833]

The sister taboos are put into force at this same period and are active deterrents in keeping the boy away from his own camp, since the young girls remain with their parents until they are taken by their spouses. 591 593

The youths are supposed to eat in their (boys', unmarried men's) camp and sleep there, not going around with women. The boys' camp is the place for them to learn the proper etiquette in their conduct with men and women. A boy is not supposed to look "hard" at a woman. Whenever a man stares at a woman he is thought to have designs upon her. "If a boy looks hard at that girl she says to herself, 'What does he look at me for that way? I think he wants to play with me.' She goes and talks then and makes trouble." 591 867

When the younger circumcised boys are put in the unmarried men's 561 591

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attitude, since the belief in the curative power of this ritual unifies the point of view of all the members. The magician, while healing, is usually watched by a number of the near and far kinsmen. They all express great satisfaction in his removal of the sickness (the foreign object) and an affirmation of the victim's cure, as do the magician and the victim.

An Examination of the Social Configuration of Magic in the South

The Part Ritual Plays as a "Magical" Instrument in the South.—Ritual can cause sickness and death as well as prevent them. When the great ceremonies such as Gunabibi, Djungguan, Ulmark and Narras are being performed, any breaking of the tribal laws is considered exceedingly dangerous and likely to cause sickness among the totemic group. If totems are hidden within the men's camp and a fight is started, or if illegal sexual relations occur, or if in some way the clan feels its totems have been profanely treated, there is general indignation and a certain amount of fear that members will become ill.

A Narra ceremony was being celebrated by some clans of the Yiritja moiety and during the preliminary part a totem was being made when a fight broke out in the camp among some of the male members because a husband believed that his wife had been having illicit relations with another man. The owners of the totem felt not only that they and their totem had been insulted but also that they were likely to become ill from the fighting and the breaking of the tribal laws.

A shark totem was hidden by a member of the Djirin clan in a hollow tree on the edge of the men's ceremonial grounds. Some women from a distant group passed near it. The owner of the totem followed their tracks and accused their husbands of not watching their women carefully. While he stood with his clansmen back of him, all of them holding their spears in readiness for fighting, he said that it was an insult not only to him and his clan but also to his totemic emblem; that it meant sickness for him or that he might be speared in the next fight he got into.

Two men were caught in illicit sexual relations with two women not their wives while several totemic emblems were on the Narra ground. The Liagaomir clan had their great fire ranga ready for the Narra ceremony. When the leader of this clan heard what had happened he expressed great indignation. He said, "Let us take them down there to our Narra ground, those men and those women, and let us show them our ranga and then kill them. Let them see first what they have done." The women were severely beaten by everybody including their brothers and sisters. The

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leader felt that all the clan had been endangered by this profaneness and that they might all become ill.

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At other times the lack of participation in sexual intercourse will cause sickness to the man who fails and possibly to others in a group. Sometimes young and bashful men refuse to enter into the ritualistic sexual intercourse which ends the Gunabibi. It is believed that they will be sick. In his account of his first participation in the Gunabibi old Dorng said the following about his embarrassment: "My brother [distant] said to me at this time, 'You go play with my wife.' I said, 'No.' He said, 'You will be sick and maybe die if you don't play with her.'" Often the women who are to be the sexual partners of young men send word to the men that they must come and stay with them or that the young man's refusal will cause both partners to be ill.

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Sometimes improper participation in a ceremony will also cause illness. Willidjungo, the medicine man, diagnosed my lame leg as caused by my not seeing all of a certain Gunabibi ceremony, which had caused the great snake to be sorry and angry with me. This diagnosis occurred in similar cases with several of the natives.

Mistreatment of ceremonial objects connected with the celebration of a great ritual can also cause illnesses. During the Gunabibi some of the feather headpieces of the leader, Ilkara, disappeared and from the indications left it appeared that a wildcat had eaten them. The young men supposed to guard these things and remain on the ceremonial ground during the night had failed in their duty. Ilkara became ill and had to have a doctor remove a large bone from his side which appeared because of this neglect of his totemic paraphernalia.

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Baldness is a term of reproach among the Murngin. A man who becomes bald considers it a calamity. One man among the group was partially bald. His people believed that his condition was due to his making too many totemic emblems and giving them to other men in return for presents; in other words, he was mistreating his totem. There was no evidence that he traded his totemic emblems any more frequently than did any of the other men of the group.

753 826 784

Women sometimes suffer innocently from the power of the ceremonial blood smeared on the men during the Djungguan and Gunabibi ceremonies. Dundir's leg had two small infections about the size of a thumb nail. Her husband said that she could not go hunting for grubs because she was ill. "She picked cotton off me over at Rubuma when

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Ainmaras.—These native artifacts serve as a woman's article of apparel, a mat to sit on, a sunshade, and a mosquito and fly net. All of the uses except the first, which is primary, are employed by both men and women. 285

The ainmara is made of the inner bark of the pandanus with the twining technique. When open it looks like the bottom of a large basket, and when folded like a quarter section of a circle; it is ordinarily twenty inches long and thirty-six inches at its greatest width. The folded ainmaras are a constant equipment of women.

Sometimes the warp is left as a six-inch fringe around the edge of the ainmara.

The half-circle variety of the ainmara (twenty-six and one-half inches by thirty inches) cannot be used for a sunshade or mosquito and fly net. Both are sometimes decorated with overstitched lines of pandanus fiber or human hair string. [531]

Ainmaras are made by both men and women, but usually by women. [462] The woman starts at the center and gradually widens it as she continues her twining. The enlarging surface is kept smooth and even by placing the mat on the sand and rubbing it with a smooth flat stone.

A small fiber string loop is put into the point of the folded ainmara and a woman carries it on her arm at the elbow or by holding it in her hand. [482] Most of the women wear no pubic coverings and when a strange man approaches the camp they cover their pudenda with the ainmara. [291 834] Sometimes a woman's modesty affects her in such a way that she hides her face rather than her pubic parts.

During the midday siesta men and sometimes women open the ainmara and double the body up beneath it to keep the flies off and protect themselves from the direct rays of the sun. During the sand-fly and mosquito months the ainmaras are used to keep off these insects.

3. Weapons

Spear-thrower (Mang-el)

The type of spear-thrower used by the Murngin and natives of northeastern Arnhem Land has a general distribution in Australia from the Kimberleys of West Australia to the southern shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria. The particular variety of this weapon found among the Murngin reaches the Daly River in the west and south, the Katherine River, also in the south, and east to the Gulf of Carpentaria. The Groote Eylandt people possess a modification of the mangel type of spear-thrower. The Kimberley variety, although belonging to the same general type as the Murngin, is larger and is made of a different kind of material from that found among the Arnhem Land natives. 411 171

The length of the mangel ranges from thirty-four to thirty-nine inches, with a norm of three feet. It is made of a hard wood of medium weight 411

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touch it, or for his brothers to do so either. The night was hideous with their quarrelling, and though the brothers attacked the old man with their spear-throwers, he loudly proclaimed the tabu and the youths dared not eat the meat.

Sexual intercourse is accepted as a natural function, not to be affected by proximity to the family circle or to other families camped a few feet away, nor yet by occasional unseemly interest from the young men's camp. Even in east Arnhem Land, where a strict morality is outwardly enforced, intercourse is little less than promiscuous, and it is not to be wondered at that most youths laughingly admit their *affairs d'amours*, and that women frequently make the initial advance—though secretly for fear of their husbands.

To prevent irregularities, married men enforce a number of prohibitions, and unmarried and unattached men are segregated in a camp by themselves at a reasonable distance from any family. A woman is not allowed to eat food presented to her husband by a youth, in case he should consider her to be under an obligation to him, and if a youth wishes to share his food with a married brother, he must not go to his camp but must call him over and give it to him.

In many relationships it is unlawful for a man and woman to greet each other, and when I have asked for a name, I have often been greeted by evasion or silence, simply because no one present was allowed to utter the name. Brothers and sisters may not look at each other when speaking, but talk with averted faces. A man converses freely with his wife, mother, daughter, granddaughter, and niece; but when speaking to other relatives he averts his face, and not being able to call them by name he draws their attention by an ejaculation or by saying: 'I wish to